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A REVIEW OF CONTRADICTORY INTERPRETATIONS OF GIUSEPPE MAZZINI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT ON THE BALKANS MAZZINI BETWEEN NATIONAL DEMOCRACIES, IMPERIALISM AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM

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This paper will try to provide, in a concise form, the synthesis of new and past knowledge about the phenomenon of *messianism*[1], one of the pillars of the political philosophy of Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872). This paper analyzes the origins, the influence and the power of the irredentist ideas for the naissance of Italian imperialism, and their conditionality with Mazzini's political and theological thought.

Mazzini's writings abound with many allusions, quotes, metaphors, and affirmative messages that were deliberately misinterpreted or misused by some of the devotees of his work. For example, it is believed that the "sacralization of the political" and "laicisation of religion", - in this case of Christianity are the two important elements of the Mazzini's philosophy of reincarnation. The issue of the esoteric character of Mazzini's metaphysics represents also a neglected and overlooked aspect of his whole thought.[2] Messianism and the inclination to deist interpretation of historical events led a number of Italian and world intellectuals to recognize in Mazzini an authoritarian thinker.

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[1] This topic has been widely written on in Italian and world historiography, especially as an important segment of cultural history and history of ideas. Mazzini's Messianic Idea of the Third Rome, as well as the heterogeneous character of the study approaches to Mazzini's role in Italian history, his ideological and political legacy, were elaborated in large numbers. Here we will list only the most important works and their authors: L. Fournier-Finocchiaro, J. Y. Fretigné, "Prophètes et prophétie chez Giuseppe Mazzini", *Laboratoire italien*. *Politique et société*, Vol. 21, Paris, 2018, p. 1-21; L. Fournier-Finocchiaro, *Giuseppe Mazzini. Un intellettuale europeo*. Napoli, 2013; S. Levis Sullam, *L'apostolo a brandelli: L'eredità di Mazzini tra Risorgimento e fascismo*, Bari, 2010; S. Alunni, *Secolarizzazione giochimita e teologia politica. Messianismo di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Roma, 2019; B. Gatta, *Mazzini.Una vita per un sogno,* Napoli, 2002; L. Fournier-Finocchiaro, "Le paradoxe Mazzini : ennemi et père de l'Italie du Risorgimento", in: *L'envers du Risorgimento*, Italies n°15, 2011, p. 357-379. Relevant literature from earlier times: C. Cantimori, *Saggio sull' idealismo di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Faenza, 1904; G. Salvemini, *Mazzini*, Standford, 1957; J. L. Talmon, *Political Messianism. The Romantic Phase*, London, 1960.

[2] C. Vetter, "Giuseppe Mazzini: Felicità, reincarnazionismo, sacralizzazione della politica", *Contemporanea*: *Rivista di storia dell' 800 e del' 900*, Vol. XIV, n°1, Bologna, 2001, p. 5-32.

Considering that the analysis of a political idea is taken in the context of the historical epoch to which it belongs, elemental, scientific honesty suggests a natural and logical conclusion that approaches to Mazzini, as a tireless intellectual worker, cannot and must not be imposed by superficial, distorted interpretations or philosophical – political theories shaped by the atmosphere of the XX century. Two developed and specially formulated Mazzini's political ideas - the idea of the *Third Rome* and the idea of *messianism*, derived from the conceptual currents of the early XIX century[3], as well as the idea of adding a leading role to Italy in emancipating Europe from a monarchist or despotic element – are noticeable through all his writings, epistemological or essayistic type, but in a different form in relation to transformations of these ideas apart from the time of his death.

In political theory, there are various interpretations of Mazzini's messianic idea, its roots, form, and intensity. What most of the scholars agree on is the fact that Mazzini mentions numerous times in his texts conviction that every nation, with developed national consciousness, has the duty to fulfill its God given role of a special, pre - determined mission on earth.[4] The democratic idealism conditioned by religious and illuminated philosophy in the thoughts of God and the People (*Dio e Popolo*) in historiography has long been proven and unquestionable.[5] His endeavors to merge divine and earthly, to overcome the limitations of the materialistic worldview, to see a particular extension of life after death, as well as the quest for personal happiness, unthinkable without the happiness of the collective, is the basis of a reincarnationist thought, whose term Mazzini is believed to be the first to introduce into the Italian literary language.[6] The second question concerns the time when it is possible to date the first outlines of reincarnational, deistic and mystical philosophy in his writings; most

[3] It has long been affirmed that Mazzini borrowed from the sensimonistic movement many elements of his conception of the world and concrete work in exile: idealistic deism, the unity of theory and practice (the essential inseparability of thoughts and actions), the eschatological conception of society and the future.

[4] G. Mazzini, *Fede e Avvenire*, in *Scritti editi ed inediti* (in further: S. E. I.), Volume VI, Imola, 1909, p. 304-305.

[5] The most important works that discuss, prove and emphasize the democratic and liberal dimension of Mazzini's geopolitical thought and life - work are, among other: S. Mastellone, *La democrazia etica di Mazzini (1837-1847)*, Roma, 2000; S. Mastellone, *Il progetto politico di Mazzini (Italia-Europea*), Firenza, 1994; F. della Peruta, *Mazzini e rivoluzionari italiani*. *Il partito d'azione 1830-1845,* Milano, 1974, D. Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, Yale, 1996; M. Scioscioli, *Giuseppe Mazzini: I principi e politica*, Napoli, 1995. The older historiography, which found in Mazzini an affirmative, democratic thinker, includes works by Benedetto Croce (carries out the apology of Mazzini's faith in the abundance of education), Antonio Gramsci (Mazzini - who understood the depths of the Italian national problem in XIX century), Piero Gobetti (Mazzini as one of the most prominent liberal revolutionaries in history) and others. See: M. Scioscioli, *Giuseppe Mazzini: I principi e politica,* Napoli, 1995, p. 15-31.

[6] C. Vetter, "Giuseppe Mazzini…", p. 9-20.

researchers define them in the mid - 30s as a reliable framework, although not all of them.[7] The division of researchers into the character and type of Mazzini's messianism[8] stems from the fact that different, heterogeneous interpretations, personal affinities and critical judgments are attached to different aspects of this idea. Mazzini was not an academic scientist willing to systematically and unambiguously expound his philosophical and theoretical system, although the continuity of this thought throughout almost all of the published opus (those of epistolary character, as well as those political - publicist), is very noticeable and completely recognizable. The biggest obstacles are, in fact, the questions concerning the nature of Mazzianism: is it essentially an authoritarian or a liberal – democratic ideology, and whether and to what extent religious and mystical component determine and condition this authoritarianism, vis à vis democracy.

The Third Rome phenomenon in Mazzini's works had been analyzed from various aspects[9], while recent studies show that it mostly stems from his devoted, almost enthusiastic handling of Gioacchino di Fiore's life and work[10], a Calabrian bishop of the 12th century, who advocated three-step, linear, "advanced" philosophy to history, whose eschatology is based on the final

[7] Historian Vetter believes that reincarnationism, as a philosophy of "the pursuit of happiness", which Mazzini was facing until the end of his life, was first made clear in 1836. *Ibid*, p. 8-15.

[8] Jean Fretingé believes that in his writings Mazzini performed divinization of "preachers" of Italian *grandezza*, among which are Dante, Machiavelli and Ugo Foscolo. See: L. Fournier - Finocchiaro, J. Y. Fretigné, "Prophètes e prophétie chez Giuseppe Mazzini…", p. 1-5.

[9] Here, in the most conspicuous aspect, should be emphasized the importance of mythological, imaginative and cultural dimension of Risorgimento and its main protagonists (Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, as an example) that was given by three great Italian philosophers - Gaetano Salvemini (1873-1957), Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944) and Alessandro Levi (1881-1953). All three have written important and complex works on Mazzini's ideological legacy. The dispute arose, for example, over whether the concept of "rights" Mazzini has derived from the notion of "duty" (Gentile), or it was vice versa (Levi). Gentile, as prominent philosopher of fascist tendencies, resented Salvemini's approach to Mazzini from a scientific and theoretical point of view, striving to interpret his missionary activity and thought through a clearly shaped philosophical system, which Mazzini never tried to do. Salvemini's criticism was directed at the idolatry of the Mazzini's "people" the concept of "democratic theocracy" and the "divine" origins largely opposed to the empirical, historical heritage of the people: "not all nations could share the inspiration of God for universal justice" Salvemini wrote. Their intellectual disagreement fully describes the "careless" use of Mazzini's inheritance in the fascist and anti-fascist key, in the years to come. See: G. Gentile, *I profeti del Risorgimento italiano*, Firenza, 1923. S. L. Sullam, *L' apostolo a brandelli…*, p. 51-55.

[10] Giacchino di Fiore (1130-1202) was an Italian Catholic monk, a hermit, a mystic, whose works and theological preaching were condemned at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. He developed the theory of three-step history, the age of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the utopian epoch of the final battle with Antichrist and the coming of the kingdom of heaven on earth. On the development of studies in Italy and Europe dedicated to the life of the Calabrian priest and the influence of his preaching, see S. Alunni, *Secolarizzazione giochimita e teologia politica. Il messianismo di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Roma, 2018, as a work that elaborates this topic sintetically.

revelation of truth in the coming "third age".[11] The idea of the Third Rome comes out, in fact, from the unusual fusion of complex, ontological theodises, rooted in Christian philosophy, along with milenarism, sansimonism and enlightenment learning about "inexplicable progress". The destiny of humanity is determined by God and also by the ineffable "deep" forces that the nations need to adjust, not to contradict them, but, in accordance with the degree of their spiritual and historical self-awareness, find reconciliation with the divine principle, without whose grace and existence nothing would be embodied. It is an idea that combines dogma and cult, leading to a religious transformation of the existing reality, and announces the arrival of the Third Age/Third State, as the age of the Holy Spirit, the time of peace, labor and justice for all, but also the ultimate revelation.[12] It should be noted that this idea in the writings of the "Apostle" appears in two basic forms: one in terms of political propaganda for the liberation of Rome from the French occupation, or the ending of the papal domination of the city in order to convert Rome into the capital of united Italy, and the second one, eschatological, which describes mission of the Italian people in the future of humanity.

Intellectual dilemma, derived from the study of the written legacy of the great Italian revolutionary, but also the environment in which it was settled, also imposes the question of whether the messianism of this idea can be interpreted as a Protestant vision of the future, those views on society, history and the human community close to certain philosophical conceptions derived from the social environment of Protestant states, given the phenomenon of heterogeneity of Protestant religious philosophy. Although in many letters he openly rejected the favor of Protestantism[13], the reasons for the potential ambivalent attitude towards Protestant Christianity could be questions of religious tolerance, resistance to the concept of the infallibility of the papal dogma and the absolutism of the Catholic Church (which Mazzini presented to a considerable extent), but also the idea of predestination. We also add the compatibility of grandiose Hegelian philosophical system with his teaching[14], as well as the fact that almost all his life, with short breaks, Mazzini spent in London.[15]

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[11] It is assumed that Mazzini came into contact with the learning of the Calabrian abbot over Ernst Renan's work *Joachim de Flore e l'Évangile éternel* published in 1866. S. Alunni, *Secolarizzazione giochimita…*, p. 14.

[12] S. Alunni, *Secolarizzazione giochimita…*, p. 13-14.

[13] S. E. I., Vol. XXVI, Imola, 1917, p. 34, 69-70.

[14] Despite the different approach to historical reality, Hegel and Mazzini jointly distinguish the theodic approach to history, the belief in the Absolute (God), the definition of subjectivity in the general (generic level existing), such as penetrating into one's own spirituality or subjective quality (in Hegel, based on the degree of development of the dynamic of traditional, institutional history), or the abolition of the monarchy and the creation of a strong national idea (in Mazzini) which, together, represent an inevitable segment of the realization of the law of freedom. Although he based his theory on defense of the developed nationality, remaining an opponent of Marx's

If Italy is assigned a leading role in the emancipation of nations around the world, then it implies that it possesses those elements of historical self-awareness necessary for the design of such an undertaking. At the heart of this conception lies the idea that, by its cultural heritage, dynamic historical development, spontaneous development of "universal awareness" among its subjects and citizens, and the specific socio - political circumstances in which it has existed for centuries, "mankind" is obliged to "teach" and take into the perception of one's own value, "bringing out" and throwing "those values onto the world historical stage to obtain a certificate of history, engaging in the historical process". From the common goal of achieving the universal freedom and fraternity of all nations, no one cannot escape it. It is the theodic legality of the linear concept of human history, according to which the universal mind needs to be recognized by everyone. Mazzini very clearly, in several passages, speaks about this in his essay *Politica Internazionale* (*International Politics*, 1871). This means that over the centuries the Italian people, although politically dissolved, have acquired the ability to possess a special way of thinking, living and surviving in historical times, which, in the name of a universal idea, can be offered as a solution to everyone. If Hegel's[16] and Lessing's idealism are somewhat cautious, they can be compared with Mazzini's; the idea of Italianism, in other words, the contribution of Italy to world history lies in the

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concept of internationalism, Mazzini did not cease to be a universalist, although to some extent he emphasizes the fact that specialties could lose their importance in the final end, the final ending of human life. Mazzini wrotes in *International Politics* (*Politica Internazionale*, 1871): "*Raggiunto il loro fine speciale, le Nazioni morivano un tempo per lungo corso di secoli: oggi, la conoscenza del fine comune, della vita colletiva ignota dell' Umanitá e della legge dell progressso che la governa, lo impedisce; ma la Nazione colpevole smarrisce per un tempo ogni virtú iniziatrice e non si ritempra ad essa fuorché espiando.*" That essay was actually a series of articles that he published in the newspaper titled *Roma del Popolo* (4-6th, 22th, 29th March, 5th March 1871). *Introduzione*, Vol. XXXIII, in: S. E. I., Volume XCII, *Politica* - Vol. XXIX, Imola, 1941; G. Mazzini, *Politica Internazionale*, (1871), in: S. E. I., Vol. XVI, Imola, 1913, p. 131.

[15] In the book of the Italian revolutionary and historian Nicomede Bianchi (1818-1886), data and thoughts about the spiritual and political connection of the Protestant idea with Mazzini's ideology can be found. N. Bianchi, *Vicende dal mazzinianismo politico e religioso dated 1832 and 1854*, Savona, 1854.

[16] Hegel's philosophy of history, the idea that it is possible to recognize the "universe" as a thing by itself, which is totalizing, comprehensive, since it includes the continuous realization of the Absolute Being in freedom, and it implies a mental and material reality (the Absolute idea, the Absolute nature and the Absolute of the Spirit, as the highest stage) is unusually corroborating with Mazzini's idea of progress and faith in the liberation of *Umanità* (Humanity). Hegel developed in the History of Philosophy the idea that there are nations with stronger, weaker and non-existent subjectivity. The ultimate form of the Mind Hegel saw in the empowerment of Protestant, Lutheran Prussia, Mazzini in Republican Italy. The proclamation of the subject as the key to the transformation of a general (objective reality) can lead to the "megalomania of inflamed subjectivity", the term we take here from S. Damnjanović. S. Damjanović, *Srbi u Hegelovoj „Filosofiji povesti"*, Letopis Matice Srpske, Knj. 470, sv. 5, Novi Sad, 2002, p. 696-708.

impermanence of the Republican idea, the universality of the legacy of the culture of the Roman Empire and the apology of timeless art, embodied in poets, sculptors, writers, painters, or, in a word, the Renaissance.

The belief that Italy, or its martial historical fate, is destined to provide an example to all other nations in their struggle for national liberation, and the view that its position is not well known to the European public, can be observed in the final stages of *Manifesto della Giovane Italia* (*Manifest of Young Italians*, 1831), where it is emphasized that it will be shown „to the world what kind of blood is soaked in the peace that they (the liberals of Italy) will sacrifice to the diplomatic cowards" in such a way that "they will be extract from our skeletons and dungeons, as well as the darkness of the despotism of documents and placed in front of the nations (European), as the silent witness of our misfortune, our persistence, and their painful dissatisfaction." There is no nation like the Italian, who needs to overcome the most varied difficulties of the inner and outer nature; in front of the Italians lies the "*accomplishment of great things among nations*" (*compiere grande cose tra i popoli*). The mission must also extend to the citizens, by allowing them to see a moral law above them, which connects them with the agreement, by executing a major plan, a great sacrifice. The essence of the Italian "initiative" in the future world lies in God's providence, God's inspiration and interference in human destiny and the struggle against materialism, the liberation of mankind, in the name of progress: the unbroken origin with the ideology of enlightenment is more than obvious. Mazzini gave a fine example in the *Questione morale* (*The Moral Question*), essay published in 1862. *In the International Politics* Mazzini writes:

> *In nome di Dio e dell' Italia repubblicana, Roma sostuiva, alla sterile dichiarazione dei diritti dell' individuo, una dichiarazione di principi, una serie di conseguenze logicamente desunte dal' idea madre, progresso, insegnatrice del fine commune alle Nazioni, e fondamento a una nuova fede.*[17]

Interestingly, at the end of the essay *Della Giovane Italia* (*Of the Young Italy*) he calls for Luther, and his teaching.[18] In the first *Istruzione generale per gli affratellati della Giovane Italia* (*General Instruction for the fraternity in Young Italy*), except the republic and the nation, Mazzini explicitly spoke against political federalism.[19] Mazzini left one of the most powerful and striking "missionary" messages to the Italian people from his earliest stage of creativity in *Ai Lettori Italian* (*To the Italian writers*, 1832):

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[17] *Le idee religiose di Giuseppe Mazzini*. *Estratti, introduzione critica e note*, a cura di F. Landogna, Livorno, 1924, 107.
[18] *Della Giovane Italia*, S. E. I., Vol. II, Imola, 1907, p. 113.
[19] S. E. I., Vol. II, Imola, 1907, p. 49-50.

> *L'Italia ridesta entrerà nella famiglia europea. Oh, come il suo destarsi è solenne! Essa si destava tre volte, dacché la Roma del paganesimo cadendo chiude va il passo all' antica civiltà, e si faceva culla della moderna. La prima volta usciva d' Italia una parola, che sostituiva un' unita spiritual europea al trionfo della forza materiale. La seconda diffonde nel mondo il raggio dell' incivilmento nell' arti e nelle lettere. La terza, essa cancellerà col suo ditto potente il simbolo del medioevo, e sostituerà l' unità sociale alla vecchia unità spirituale. Perché – e questo convien ripeterlo agli stranieri – da Roma sola puó muovere per la terza volta la parola dell' unità moderna, perché da Roma sola può partire la distruzione assoluta della vecchia unità*.[20]

There is an opinion that only from Rome can begin, for the third time, the slogan of the unity of mankind,[21] the demolition of the previous old world. In 1834, Mazzini will write that Rome is the center of the future unity of the world, chosen by Young Italy as the place from which the third European epoch will be launched, but similar stories will also be repeated in his writings written in the 1860s. This idea indicated that, as Mazzini says, the only place they can draw (*extract*) a mandate (their mission in the world) is a concept that implies the entire human race, including common belief in origin and the law of collective and universal life.

There are, also, many interesting remarks by Mazzini about progress and Asia. Mazzini prophetically say: "*L' Europa è la leva del mondo. L' Europa è la terra della Libertà. Ad essa si spettano i fatti dell' universe, e la missione di sviluppo progressive ch' è legge all' umanità*".[22]Also, he writes: "*La razza dei titani, che pugnarono contro il destino asiatico, si perpetuò*."[23] In the same essay (*Fratellanza dei popoli*), Mazzini asked himself whether the "fraternity among nations is merely an illusion or the only means of conquest for us (the Italians)". He summarizes its vision of the 'masculin' Rome as the leader of the liberated peoples, and emphasizes that Asia will be "invaded". The mission of civilization of Asia Mazzini assigned to the Russian Empire, saying that only "fresh, young blood can restore the decaying, paralyzing Asian body".[24] There is thought that the Triumph of moral principles is above materialistic, European over inert Asian.[25] Speaking to the German public, giving her practical advice on how to create freedom of the press, and pointing out the need for common co-operation against the same or similar enemies, Mazzini warns that the Italians "could

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[20] *Ai Lettori italiani.Un esule*, in: S. E. I., Vol. II, Imola, 1907, p. 246.
[21] The construction of the cult of Rome, the creation of an image and the perception of its role, significance and mission in the world and history was most fully elaborated by L. Salerno, *Romma communis Patria*, Bologna, 1968.
[22] *Fratellanza dei popoli*, S. E. I., Vol. II, p. 256.
[23] *Ibid*, p. 256.
[24] *Dell' Ungheria*, S. E. I., in Vol. III, Imola, 1907, p. 115.
[25] S. E. I., in: Volume II, Imola, 1907, p. 283.

survive in Europe and twice dismantle the lords whom France imposed on her (Italy)". The Italians are the heralders of the *Crusade for Freedom*, the first among the oppressed peoples of Europe to whom mankind has assigned the fate of emancipation of the race, as the essay *Dell' Ungheria* shows unequivocally.[26] The antique character of Italy and its predestination with the divine principle are pointed out. Italy is a country whose particularism has been accumulated over "more than ten centuries", such as that it "slaughtered flattering threats of its ancient size so that it would not try a new one, but it is packed with such memories that could create a new universe."[27] Italy has twice given the decisive word "for the unity of Europe". In Rome he sees the *Mind of Humanity*, claiming without restraint that Rome is God's word among human races and adding that his desire was to lead Europe and mankind to that city as the leader.[28] Without the people as a moral sacrificial example, a unique action and harmonization of the principles of the future national and social revolution could not be possible. We can find confirmation of such reflections in his letter to Pietro Giannone dated February 17, 1835, highlighting the importance of gaining a championship for Italians.[29] In a letter to Luigi Amadeo Melegari of October 1, 1833, Mazzini uncoverdly and openly said that he always craved for "an Italian revolution that would put Italy on the forefront of European fate for the third time".[30] Mazzini considered that the idea of the republic was a continuation of Ancient Rome. Republicanism, as a political commitment, first emerged from the Apennine Peninsula, and Italy was destined to bring this idea back to the oppressed European nations. In a letter written six days later, Mazzini explains to Melegari the very convincing and unequivocal character of the future Italian revolution:

> *Non so se le ragioni ch' io t' ho acennate t' avranno fatto pensare: noi tentiamo la libertà della patria; ma tentiamo a un tempo l' iniziativa Europea. Se riesciamo*, *apriamo un' altra era: l' era dei Popoli. La idea che abbiamo sempre vagheggiato di porre l' Italia alla testa dell' incivilimento, e di darle lo scettro, che dorme in mano alla Francia, è tanto Italiana, quanto quella d' emanciparsi.*[31]

Although not all Risorgimento participants were opponents of the Church, anticlericalism was an important, perhaps unavoidable component of the Italian unification movement. Mazzini's martial arts concept is significant

[26] *Dell' Ungheria*, S. E. I., in Vol. III, p. 96.
[27] S. E. I., Vol. II, Imola, 1907, p. 103-104.
[28] S. E. I., Vol. XIV, Imola, 1912, p. 69.
[29] S. E. I., Vol. X, Imola, 1911, p. 360.
[30] S. E. I., Vol. IX, Epistolario, Vol. II, Imola, 1910, p. 99-100.
[31] S. E. I., in Vol. IX, Epistolario, Vol II, Imola, 1910, p. 117.

because he has created a new category of "living martyr", one who has not physically died, but has overcome the most horrible torments, and in which he will includes himself. In addition, Mazzini's messianism was based on the pedagogical aspect of human development, attaching great importance to education, which he considered a crucial problem. The myth of the National Rome also implied belief in the "scientific, educational, institutional mission", into the "cult of science", with Quintino Sella (1827–1884) as it's prominent adherent.[32]

The idea of "Third Rome" can be found in a small brochure published in Italian called *Iniziativa* of 1887, which brings out in its entirety Mazzini's essay from 1870. The foreword emphasizes that those who take the initiative are fighting solely for the honor of the nation, uninfected by any form of hatred or intolerance.[33]

Of particular importance in understanding Mazzini's deistic, religious, critical, cold, at times a hostile attitude towards France, and the way in which he perceived, interpreted, and spread the legacy of the French Revolution, thirty years after it was played. At that time, he sees France with ending missions, as a state deprived of the ability and power to stand at the forefront of the universal movement of the emancipation of mankind. An unconvincing attitude towards the monarchy regime is not the only reason for an analytical objective examination, without passion, of the future French role in the world: much more, it is a critique of the abuse of sacred principles, such as Freedom, fraternity, unity, whose nature should be considered holy, inviolable, inexorable, the most important. In this deliberate misuse of a major mission and the hypocritical abandonment of the principles, the alienation of the regime and the Bourbon's political representatives from fulfilling her mission on Earth, Mazzini sees confirmation of his views on Italy and her awakening. Mazzini shows an uncovered need for an imaginary pattern, a clear grassroots without whose existence it is not possible to have proper and desirable behavior – in this context, emancipation. Mazzini's preoccupation concerns the acquisition of the initiative, the right of priority – who will occupy the vacant position of France, whose abilities, willpower, energy have the honor to inherit that country and continue "teaching", "faking", "giving examples". Emilio Bertano considers idea of the Third Rome as primarily a spiritual, not especially as political program.[34]

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[32] M. Cermenati, *Roma e il pensiero moderno*, Roma, 1895, p. 31-35.
[33] G. Mazzini, *L' Iniziativa,* Roma, 1887, p. VI.
[34] A. Bertamo, "Intorno al Mazzini", *Nuova Rivista Storica*, Fasc V- VI, Settembre - Dicembre 1919, Anno III, p. 526-527.

Implications on Irredentism and questions of Balkans

This element of Mazzini's political philosophy is interesting because it has not been thoroughly studied, often provokes controversies in the interpretation to the historical phenomenon that was the Risorgimento, and finally because Mazzini was interpreted in the key to the current, dominant, ruling ideologies of the twentieth century, excessively totalizing to illuminate an heretic approach to the blurred elements of the human past. Considering that there were two basic phases of the Third Rome idea, one that lasted as Rome was under foreign occupation, the papal, clerical, and the second one, after becoming the capital of the Kingdom of Italy, there is a doubt that this segment of Mazzini's idea was more dominant. Another important question that arises is to what extent this idea inspired a number of irredentist conceptions and imperialist plans of Italian political elites in the middle of two centuries (19-20th), and later, during the 20th century. The ideological disproportion in invoking the emancipatory, anti-clerical, liberal and democratic mission of the Third Rome and the potential colonial or imperial discourse arouse the attention of many scholars of this subject, whether it is the principle that the political goal does not choose the means for its fulfillment.

The great Italian historian Federico Chabod[35] (1901–1960) argued that the abandonment of the Mazzini's idealism, primarily the irreconcilability of the idea of revolutionary change, in order to displace all the peoples of Europe, under the cloak of nation and freedom, was abandoned by later Italian politicians of the second half of the nineteenth century (after 1870). "Mazzinians only in principle", "internal and external conservatives", they realized that securing the survival of Italy in Europe as a great power is possible only by adjusting to the current political moment, so-called "*Europa governativa* (governamental Europe")[36], based on the experience of the skills of diplomacy of the great powers during 1815 and later. The idea of "mother – Rome" had been used to awaken the prophetic mission of the Italian people in the future, as its forerunner not only Mazzini, but also Vicenzo Gioberti and from that idea was not immune

[35] Chabod presented in this way the problematic of Third Rome idea: "*Nel tumultuante animo di Mazzini si fondevano così tutti i motive della tradizione italiana, di Roma e di primato, da lui riplasmati e sublimate nell'alto concetto di missione europea, ma non senza che permanessero e affiorassero, tratto tratto, le venature fortemente nazionali, e fin le lagnanze per l'ingratitudine altrui come sarebbe accaduto più tardi di frequente*. F. Chabod, *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896*, Vol. I, Roma - Bari, 1971, p. 179.

[36] Among such "Mazzinians" Chabod has named Ruggero Bonghi, Emilio Visconti Venosta, Gosuè Carducci, Francesco Crispi. He wrote that the historical Left in the Italian Parliament after the unification of 1871 had only embraced the part of Mazzini's teaching concerning love for one's own country, ignoring the wider, European, universal subtext of that idea. F. Chabod, *Politica estera*…, p. 149-151, 159, 411.

Camillo Cavour.[37] Chabod also pointed out that almost all groups of Risorgimento promoted the mythological construction of "Rome" as a "political goal".

It should also be noted that there are researchers who, as the key year of Mazzini's reflections on the importance of Rome for Italian civilization, see the year of 1848 and the revolutionary ferment that was shaken by torments in the Eternal City, although there are unambiguous indicators and clear evidence that the Italian revolutionary had its own idea about the "Italian initiative" conceived and theoretically shaped at the beginning of the 1830s of the 19th century. The reason for some neglect of such topics in Mazzini's writings and the epistolary published legacy lies in the fact that at that time he was devoted to the organization of Young Italy and the rise of the republican uprising in Switzerland. Interesting type of definition of "initiative" was given by the professor of international law Francesco Paolo Contuzzi (1855–1925).[38] It is also quite clear that the idea of the Third Rome in Mazzini's writings was present already in 1832 as the consequences of learning, doctrine and philosophical system of sansimonists.[39]

Regarding the Balkan Peninsula, Mazzini wrote that the territories from "Rijeka, through the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea to the Bojana River" represent the provinces associated to Italy by "historical tradition, linguistic affinity and love relationships".[40] On the other hand, due to its commitment to the democratic national principle, the position expressed in the *Politica Internazionale* should not be overlooked, that almost all the territories south of Istria belonged to the Southern Slavs.[41] Mazzini founded in mid-1871 in London the interesting newspaper – *La Roma del Popolo* (the basic postulate, the syntagma and the motto of the Third Rome idea) – one of the editors was Ernesto Nathan (1848–1921), later mayor of Rome, mason, administrator of the Grand Lodge of Italy, and an opponent of the Yugoslav concept of unification during the First World War.[42] Nevertheless, Mazzini's bringing in the context of irredentism – the fact that there was no irredentist organization that did not

[37] Federico Chabod "blames" Gioberti, if we can say so, much more for the mythologization of Italy and the uncritical divinization of Roman size than Mazzini, in his capital work that is quoted. F. Chabod, *Politica estera*…, p. 18-182.

[38] *"Quandoi tempi sono maturi per lo sviluppo di uno nuovo periodo di civiltà, allora il Popolo, che più ha patito per la ricerca dell' incognita del problema umano, il Popolo, che nella ricerca di questa incognita più ha serbato intatti la propria fede, la volontà, è quello il popolo 'iniziatore'*. F. P.Contuzzi „*Il diritto delle genti dell' umanità*, Vol. I, Napoli, 1880, p. 434-435.

[39] S. Alunni, *Secolarizzazione giochimita…,* p. 245.

[40] G. Mazzini, *Politica internazionale*, 1871, in: S. E. I., Vol. XVI, Imola, 1913, p. 133-136.

[41] *Ibid*, p. 135-136.

[42] M. P. Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italians Democrats*, Royal Historical Society, London, 2014, p. 137. See also: M. Cuzzi, *Dal Risorgimento al mondonuovo. La massoneria Italiana nella Prima Guerra mondiale*, Milano, 2017.

express a piety against the personality of the Apostle - especially regarding the territories which will belong to Italy in the future distribution of power in the Balkans is not without foundation; as a small example, a small piece of evidence testifies to this is Umberto Silvagni's short essay titled *The Italian National Revindications at the Congress of Peace*, in which he claims that Mazzini has always demanded the return of Dalmatia to Italy.[43] On the other hand, the necessary condition of Slav - Italian friendship was the possession of Istria in Italian hands[44], and the Italian territories, in his opinion, means also the Julian Alps, Veneto, Friuli, Trieste.[45]

In history, it is known that one of the first influential Italian intellectuals, politicians and writers was the distinguished Mazzinian Mateo Renato Imbriani (1834–1901), a member, ideologist and sympathizer of the Historical (Extreme) Left Party in the Italian Parliament. However, several years before Imbriani, another Italian, Errico Amante (1816–1883), a philosopher, politician and senator, published a book dedicated to the Latin racial and wider Mediterranean area. He was one of the first Italians who, diligently, detailed and with scientific terminology, tried to explain the phenomenon of a "civilized mission" predetermined by the Latin race, and it was not clear to what extent he had in mind Mazzini and his writings. Imbriani who founded an irredentist movement devoted to idea of raising the uprising across *terre irredente*, is considered to be the person who first used the term "irredentism". In his text *Italy to Italians* he explained the importance of the collapse of Austrian and Turkish despotism, and it is interesting that Imbriani, almost in the same way as Mazzini, in the idea of "Italian initiative and mission" emphasizes the importance of the presence of Italy:

> *Ed il concetto che ci preme di affermare si è che propugnando la causa della Slavia Irredenta, della Grecia irredenta, della Romania irredenta e di quanti popoli servi vogliono a noi stringersi con intenti communi in lega veramente sacra – noi seguiamo logicamente lo stesso indirizzo e lo stesso ordine d' idee, che ci condussero a schierarci sotto il vessillo dell' Italia irredenta.*[46]

In addition to him, Pacifico Valussi[47] (1813–1893), Italian journalist and politician, editor of series of several important Italian newspapers, the theorist of

[43] U. Saligni, *The Italian National Revindications at the Congress of Peace*, Rome, 1919, p. 14.
[44] *Italia e Jugoslavia*. A cura d' un gruppo di scrittori italiani e jugoslavi, Firenze, 1918, p. 43.
[45] A. Ghisleri, "L' Istria italiana e l'Alpi Giulie secondo Mazzini", in *Italia e Jugoslavia*, 1918, p. 311.
[46] G. Promastro, *Matteo Renato Imbriani - Poerio. Ricordi e aneddoti*, Trani, 1904, 102.
[47] In addition to Valussi's works that elaborate the economic and political dependence of the Mediterranean on the economic, cultural and political strength of Italy, it should be noted *Trieste e l'Istria e loro ragioni nella quistione italiana* (1861) and *L'Adriatico and the relazione agli interessi nazionali dell'Italia* (1871), where we can find a striking Messianic idea.

Italian nationalism, has an important place in the divination of the cult of Italy in early carduccian time. Scientific studies show that the social, cosmopolitan atmosphere of Trieste, in which he started its publicist work, was crucial to Valussi in terms of starting to form a national idea.[48] An illustrative example can serve the following. In the newspaper called *Precursore*, he explicitly insisted on the messianic dimension of Italy's political role in the future of the world. In short article *Dove andiamo?* (*Where we go?*) Valussi wrote: "*L' Italia a questo punto ha una nuova missione providenziale, quella di incivilire il mondo colla parola. Ben lungi dal rifarsi alla conquista dei Popoli essa è da quell momento la conquistata."*[49]

Considering that some scholars the birth of the Italian irredentist movement see the Mazzini's article published in 1866 against the Austrian Empire and the Prussian Peace Agreement, it is not surprising that a large number of institutes, institutions, cultural organizations had Mazzini's name or been invited to it occasionally or permanently in the founding acts, program declarations, pamphletic announcements.[50]

In historiography, it has not been fully clarified yet whether the idea of the Third Rome was decisive for forming all of Mazzini's political views, as a starting point, or a short-lived revolutionary dream, never fully developed theoretically, since there is no dispute that in his writings are present, and, at one time, extremely constant.

There is no doubt that Mazzini's conceptual legacy was significantly misused by the theoreticians of fascism.[51] After Rome of Caesar, and Pope's Rome, People's Rome will be born, claimed Mazzini, and the idea that Rome[52] should be the capital of Italy and the heart of a new, unified state, most of the political figures of Risorgimento have come to the fore: Cavour, Cattaneo, Garibaldi.[53] In *Politica Internazionale* there are some indications that Mazzini unequivocally expresses concept of united Italy, which shows the existence of culturally and politically expansive plans of the missionary.[54] Historian Emilio Gentile pointed out that Mazzini made a plan to create Italian colonial power in

[48] D. Reill, "Bordertopia: PacificoValussi and the Challenge of Borderlands in the Mid Nineteenth Century", *California Italian Studies,* 2, 1, 2011, p. 1-25.
[49] *Il Precursore*, Rivista settimanale, 4. febbraio 1849, N. 14, p. 211.
[50] Look at the study of G. Castellini, *Trento e Trieste: L 'irredentismo e il problema adriatico,* Milano, 1918. Castellini was an Italian nationalist, and Valussi's ideas can be found in the same context in this script.
[51] The most prominent examples represent Benito Mussolini and Gabriele D'Annuzio.
[52] The construction of the cult of Rome, the creation of an image and the perception of its role, significance and mission in the world and history was most fully elaborated by L. Salerno, *Romma communis Patria*, Bologna, 1968.
[53]G. Limiti, "La Terza Roma di Giuseppe Mazzini", Roma, *Quaderni del Gruppo dei Romanisti*, Vol. 4, 2005, Roma, p. 13-14.
[54] *Ibid,* p. 15.

the Mediterranean, emphasizing his mention of Roman legionnaires in the context of the civilization of African nations.[55] The French Revolution is significant in the fact that it marked the beginning of individual human rights and the end of feudalism, but it remained the "end of a process": its disadvantage was that it did not offer an "unitary concept" that would serve everyone as a model for a large collective endeavor, in which society would be unique.[56] Historian Talmon considered that Mazzini's concept of "intelligence", mystically connected with the nation, "cleans and formulates the opinion of the people"[57]; that isone segment of Mazzini philosophy, which caused doubts, arguments, quarrels, various interpretations.[58] Talmon points out that Mazzini and Mickiewicz preached what he calls universal *revolutionary nationalism*, in contrast to *mixed royalistic nationalism*.[59]

Regardless of his enthusiasm for the history, epic tradition and cultural heritage of the South Slavs, Mazzini did not understand the political situation in which they have lived, especially when it comes to the concept of the Danube Confederation, whose program persistently pointed out as a crucial one. In short, Mazzini did not understand the Hungarian concept of a political nation, insisting on the necessity of the Serbian - Hungarian agreement, despite the fact that the Serbs and Hungarians in the years after the Revolution 1848/49 failed to find a common political language. However, his enthusiasm for the cultural legacy of the Balkan Slavs could not be blurred, a specific panegyric cult that he nourished for the future Slav federation, all along with Hungarians, Romanians and Greeks.[60]

The belief in the justification of the position of Italy as a country that "teaches civilization" refers to the tradition of republicanism, literary tradition, and the cultural and legal heritage of ancient Roman culture.[61] Many historians and scientists believe that patriot and poet Giosue Carducci had contributed to the popularization of the "mythical Rome", intended to expand the emancipatory

[55] E. Gentile, *La Grande Italia. Il mito della nazione*, Bari, 2011, p. 51-52.
[56] J. L. Talmon, *Political Messianism*…, p. 263-264.
[57] Talmon states the following Mazzini's quote about the initiative of a nation: *When the time is ripe, God inspires in the people that has suffered most and has kept its own faith intact, the will and the courage to conquer or die for all the rest. This is the initiator pople. It takes up arms and fights; whether it triumphs or dies, from its asches or its crown of victory the Word of the Epoch will be evolved and the world will be saved. Ibid,* p. 265.
[58] *Ibid*, 265.
[59] *Ibid*, 268.
[60] Mazzini's fear of Pan-Slavism under the command of the Russian emperor had influence in reviving interest in the political space of the South Slavs. M. Scioscioli, *Mazzini: i principi…*, p. 229-231.
[61] See: M. Barrella, *Principi del mondo civile delle nazioni avvocato*, Napoli, 1860.

mission in the world.[62] Carducci believed in the myth of people's Rome because he perceived it as the basis of the Italian national identity.[63]

Since the Italian rulers represented an instructive historical and political pattern for the non-liberated Balkan states, deprived of international sovereignty (most until 1878), or a comprehensive national unification (Serbia, Greece, Romania, etc.), the space that Italy wanted implied filling propaganda about its tradition of successful national guerrilla fighting and concrete help for the rise of the uprising across the Balkan Peninsula, in order to strengthen its influence.[64] This was primarily about the Italians. According to historian Fabrice Jesné, democratic mesianism was considered utopian outside the framework of the Radical Left, who nurtured this cult, given the means available to the ruling elite of Italy at the end of the XIX century.[65]

It is believed that one of the most important politicians, in his youth, strong Mazzinian, who contributed to the creation of the "mythical images of Rome" and the mission of Italian expansionist politics, was Francesco Crispi (1818–1901).[66] Crispi pointed out that the desire for the power and the size of Italy was a sin that "the only reactionaries cannot forgive us" and that "it is the sin of those who, with Mazzini at their helm, worked on the formation of the unity of a wonderful country into the unity of the state." He advocated a neutral and mutually correct system of international relations, rejecting the idea of Italy's dominance in Europe[67], although this does not mean that it did not contribute to the mythology of the united Italian state and its consequences. Although he supported the idea of creating a confederation of independent Balkan states after the Berlin Congress in 1878 and acted against the Austro-Russian agreement on the division of interest spheres in the Balkan Peninsula, Crispi, advocating the preservation of the status quo, shared like Mazzini many similar views in terms of Russia's foreign policy especially regarding the danger of pan-Slavism and the Russian conquest of Constantinople.[68] Gentile emphasized that the synthesis between the nation and freedom remained the essence of the national myth of Third Italy.[69] Enrico Martini, an Italian fascist

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[62] G. Limiti, "La Terza Roma di Giuseppe Mazzini", p. 16.
[63] L. Fournier-Finocchiaro, "Le mythe de la Troisième Rome de Mazzini a Mussolini", in *Le mythe de Rome en Europe : modèles et contre-modèles*, Actes du colloque de Caen (27-29 novembre 2008), Caen, 2012, p. 218-219.
[64] F. Jesné, *Les racines idéologiques de l'impérialisme italien dans les Balkans, 1861-1915*, Hypothèses, 2006/I, Éditions de la Sorbonne, Paris, 2005, p. 271-281.
[65] *Ibid*, p. 280-281.
[66] G. Limiti, "La Terza Roma di Giuseppe Mazzini"…, p. 15.
[67] *Ultimi scrissi e discorsi extra - parlamentari (1891-1901)*, a cura di T. Palamenghi-Crispi, Roma, 1901, p. 238-239.
[68] F. Crispi, "La questione balcanica", in F. Crispi, *Questioni internazionali*. *Diario e documenti*, ordinate da T. Palamenghi-Crispi, Milano, 1913, p. 242-243.
[69] E. Gentile, *La Grande Italia*…, p. 53.

writer, wrote that Mazzini's idea of the Third Rome remained intended for the "civilization mission". It is interesting that the irredentist idea in Scipio Sighele's work was largely based on the teaching of Vicenzo Gioberti, whose ideas and their correlation/connection/interaction with Mazzini's ideas of messianism have been elaborated.[70] Discussing the chapter dedicated to imperialism, in his study about the phenomenon of nationalism - imperialism, Scipio, in our belief, very graphically, unequivocally and vividly described the essence of the Italian imperial mission, using, besides other things, the verb *immedesimare*, the term Mazzini often uses to describe the mission of the Italian influence in the development of the national awakening of other nations in Europe and world.[71] Various intellectuals referred to Mazzini in a greater or lesser extent – from Atilio Tamaro, prominent irredentist publicist (*L' Adriatico,golfo di Trieste. L'italianità di Trieste*, 1884) to, for example, letter from the distinguished inhabitants of Trieste and the surrounding area of Gorizia in a joint memorandum sent to King Vitoria Emmanuel II on 18 August 1866 which also holds the undeniable influence of Mazzinians and his Messianic message on the size of future Italy.[72] In addition to that, certain significant associations dedicated to the protection of Italian language and culture, *Associazione in pro dell' Italia irredenta* (1879), *Pro Patria* (1885) and *Società Dante Alighieri* (1889) in the Italian – inhabited areas included him as one of their intellectual precursor.[73]

If it is accepted the thesis that Mazzini's vision of the eastern borders of Italy, the messianism and active advocacy for raising the uprising influenced the intensified presence of Italy in the Balkans at the end of the XIX and the beginning of the twentieth century, it is not yet clear to what extent and whether the idea of the People's Rome specifically influenced the formation of irredentist movements and ideas related to the Italian penetration to the east, since the racist concept of the development of the world, peoples and states and the views on social life in Italian nationalism had no such prism as in German one.

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[70] Scipio Sighele called for the work of Enrico Corradini *Voce d'Italia* (*Voice of Italy*) in which certain ideas of the Mazzini's ideology can be recognized, although without a direct reference to "Apostle ". S. Sighele, *Il nazionalismo e i partiti politici*, Milano, 1911, p. 73-77.

[71] Sighele borrows that term from Corradini: *Cosi ogni individuo tende a farsi centro di un mondo*, *e tanti sono I mondi che continuamente si mutano quanti sono gli individui che nascono e muoiono. E questo istinto da cui l' individuo è animato, d' immedesimare tutto in sè*, *non è se non un primo dell' altro: di estendere il suo sè il più possible sull' esterno*, *il suo potere, il potere della sua ricchezza, il suo sè morale, scientifico, artistico, ogni forza del suo sè.* (...) S. Sighele, *Il nazionalismo*…, p. 76.

[72] I. Reggio, *Storia della grande guerra d' Italia. Le Origini Remote,* l, I, Milano, 1918, p. 95-96.

[73] *Pro Patria. Risposta dell' associazione in pro dell' Italia irredenta alla publicazione Italicae res del colonnello austriaco Haymerle*, Bologna, 1879, p. 58, 91, 189. С. Јанковић, „Италијански иредентизам у оквиру народноослободилачких покрета народа у Аустроугарској", *Политеиа*, 8, БањаЛука, децембар 2014, p. 217-234.

An important contribution to the awakening of irredentist politics was given by the *Partito Mazziniano Italiano* (*Italian Mazzinian Party*, founded 1901) whose ideological basis was to illuminate, deepen and preserve Mazzini's political legacy, whether real or imaginary. They considered domestic and foreign policy to be part of the same "Nation" platform; their official newspaper *Terza Italia* (*Third Italy*) proclaimed strong support for the Albanian national movement and the annexation of Malta, Trento, seaside Dalmatia and the eastern Adriatic islands.[74] They referred to Mazzini's appeal to uphold the national independence of the Balkan peoples as one of Italy's main foreign policy goals, concealing its partial imperialist connotations.[75] Mazzinians advocated the creation of a Balkan Confederation with strong ties to Italy. In 1911, it has been established *Comitato mazziniano di azione irredentista* (*Mazzinian Activity Irredentist Committee*).

There is no doubt that the myth of Rome as the civilization center of the world, or, at least, of Europe, was reinforced by the outcome of the Berlin Congress, whose decisions many Italian politicians and the general public (especially the historical Left) interpreted in a negative context.[76] Although Mazzini did not consider the Balkans to be an Italian area of interest, in terms of its colonization, at least not directly, there is no doubt that many of those who thought that Italy should be more active in the Balkans were influenced by Mazzini's ideas.[77] Some terms and concepts used by Mazzini find their context in an improved discourse in many works printed directly on the eve of the outbreak of the Great War, but also during its duration, especially for the purpose of analyzing the future of territories of vital importance to Italy, such as Istria, Dalmatia and Albania; "Latin civilization", "Italy", "civilized mission" and similar concepts get their broad, theoretical, supplementary and modified explanations.[78] The historian of literature, publicist and historian Pietro Rimbaldi

[74] E. Lodolini, "Mediterraneo, Adratico, intervento nella politica del Partito Mazziniano Italiano (1900-1918)", *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, vol. XXVIII, Roma: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento, 1951, p. 474-475.

[75] The majority of the party considered the conquest of Libya wrong (in 1911), but not the strengthening of Italy in the Mediterranean, especially in the hinterland of the Adriatic Sea, in order to sever Slavs from Austria and the Russia. Other, minor part strongly advocated the conquest of Libya, a ruthless fight against barbaric Turkish rule in all areas, from Africa to the Bosphorus. *Ibid*, 476, 479.

[76] F. Curato, "Aspetti nazionalistici della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1914" , *Il Politico*, 47, 2, 1982, Rubbettino Editore, p. 253-280.

[77] M. Cattaruzza, *Italy and its Eastern Border 1866-2016*, Routledge, 2017, p. 26.

[78]An example of this may be the collection of works dedicated to *Dalmazia*, published in 1915, which brought together many irredentist intellectuals. The voted to the structure of the population, history and culture of Dalmatia, as well as its future through war events. In the essay under the title *Nel nome di S. Marco*, Rambaldi wrote: *Ma, se mai l' ora solenne della liberazione fosse suonata, Mazzini e Cavour avrebbero abbandonati i Dalmati, i fratelli e compagni nel sacrifizio e nel*

(1872–1943) argued in the concluding observations of his study *Italia libera e una* (*Italy free and one*) that "Italy did not wake up to be just an instrument of order and peace, but to take on the mission of universal civilization, "which represents" the sublime thought of Mazzini and the good king (*gentil uomo*) "and which the citizens of Italy must not forget".[79] Mazzini was observed, especially in irredentist literature before and during the First World War, as a key figure of Italian-Slav rapprochement, but under some form of Italian championship; this is also evidenced by the works of historian Gaetano Salvemini, who proved Mazzini's anti-imperialist views and malicious or unprofessional interpretation of his ideas.[80] In essay titled *Delle lettere italiane di Dalmazia* (*Italian Letters from Dalmazia*) Antonio Cipicco claimed: *Se Giuseppe Mazzini fosse oggi vivo, chiederebbe, e dotto delle strage d'italianita compiuta in quelle terre, ben altro di quella sponda che la vitifera isola di Lissa, a salvaguardia dei nostril diritti nazionali, a doverosa ricompensa di quell martirio semi secolare degli italiani di quelle sponde*.[81] Gaetano Salvemini argued, in a number of different works and essays, from which we here emphasize *La questione adriatico* (1918), that Mazzini was "shamelessly" abused by nationalists, and that he had never placed the border of Italy in Dalmatia, which he considered to be the majority inhabited by Slavs, the ethnicity with which the Italians in the future should be in solidarity and mutual understanding.[82] Mazzini is called from various but similar initiatives and goals, from Riciotto Garibaldi,[83] but also from Angelo Vivante, Scipio Slataper, Biagio Marin. Historian Isidore Reggio considered that the universality of the Italian mission in the world is to maintain peace, for which it is only capable, referring to Napoleon Bonaparte.[84] Well – known Mazzinian and a harsh, irreconcilable opponent of the Yugoslav national unification was criminologist, lawyer and politician Salvatore Barzilai (1860–1939).[85] Historian Marina Cattaruzza believes that Mazzini's article of August 26, 1866 was important to establish the

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dolore? No, certo. Quoted upon *La Dalmazia. Sua italianità. Suo valore per la libertà d' Italia nell' Adriatico*, Genova, 1915, p. 62.

[79] P. Liberale Rimbaldi, *Italia libera ed una*, Venezia 1911, p. 50.

[80] An example of this may be the study by Gellio Cassi, *Il mare adriatico* (1916), in which it has been stated that the changed historical circumstances in the wider hinterland of the Adriatic Sea in the Balkans led to a gradual Italianization of the Slav's life in that area in response to the German - Austrian political and cultural pressure. This Italianization is not interpreted in an oppressive, backward or repressive key, but as an incitement to Mazzini's idea of bringing the two peoples together.G. Cassi, *Il mare adriatico*…, p. 443-444, 513-514.

[81] A. Cipicco, "Delle lettere italiane di Dalmazia", in: *La Dalmazia*. *Sua italianità*..., p. 154.

[82] C. Maranelli, G. Salvemini, *La Questione dell' Adriatico*, Roma, 1919, p. 121.

[83] G. Schiro, *Gli albanesi e la questione balcanica*, Napoli, 1904, p. 285.

[84] I. Reggio, *Storia della grande guerra d' Italia*…, p. 58.

[85] "Pei diritti dei popoli balcanici", in: S. Barzilai, Dalla *Triplice alleanza al conflitto europeo; discorsi parlamentari e scritti rari*, Roma, 1914, p. 100; M. Cuzzi, *Dal Risorgimento al mondo* nuovo…, p. 187, 220, 236-238.

argument that was used in the following decades: the mixing of historical quotes, literary recollections, strategic assessments, with the Austrian press statement and public opinion prone to Mazzini's program opened a new the phase of Italian irredentism, extending it from the area of southern Tyrol to the whole of the Adriatic coast.[86]

Concern about the potential Italian imperialism on the Balkan Peninsula, for example, in the early 20th century, certain number of Serbian intellectuals related to the magazine *Srpski književni glasnik* expressed ther opinion about Italy. One of the first studies dedicated to Mazzini from the Italian intellectuals' pen, presented in the original language for the Serbian readership and professional public, was the study of Napoleon Colajanni *Il Pensiero di Giuseppe Mazzini sulla politica balcanica e sull' avvenire degli Slavi* (*Giuseppe Mazzini's Thinking on Balkan Policy and Future of the Slavs*) (1915), whose political career in giolittian Italy was of particular interest.[87] A particularly important study published on Italian nationalism was given by Miodrag T. Ristić, in the collection of his studies dedicated to Italy, titled *Italijanski nacionalizam* (*Italian Nationalism*) (Beograd, 1936) in which he pointed out that Italian nationalism is a distorted interpretation of Mazzini's teachings[88], but also that it can pose a major threat to relations in the Balkans with Italy.

The question of the "civilization role of Rome" was actualized in a much stronger and more present extent during the fascist regime (1922–1945), when this myth got its concrete political dimension. There is no doubt that in that period a large number of publications emerged from the press in which the term "Third Italy" was uncritically interpreted.[89]

The dilemma we are facing with is how to position Mazzini's Third Rome idea in the clearly built integrity of his system of thinking and political ideology. Is it *Third Rome* a central part of his philosophy, despite his efforts to occasionally conceal it, depending on political circumstances, and the tendencies of contemporary historiography to reject this kind of interpretation of his political legacy? If that is true, then Mazzini's idea of the Third Rome and the whole messianic basis associated with this idea represented the essential, capillary, utilitarian basis around which the entire political ideology of the "Apostle" was orbit in all its colorfulness. Mazzini's opus involves extensive, immense debates, essays or controversies devoted to the different phenomena of

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[86] M. Cattaruzza, *Italy and…*, p. 10. For the synthetic approach to the irredentist issue in the works of Italian publicists, journalists and writers - researchers, see: F. Jesné, *L' Italie face a la question adriatique 1861-1915. Aspects strategiques et ideologiques*, in *Italy's Balkan Strategies (19th-20th Century)*, Vojislav G. Pavlović (ed.), Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade, 2015, p. 103-121.

[87] See the study: M. Tesoro, "L'attività politica di Napoleone Colajanni nell' epoca di Crispi e di Giolitti", *Il Politico*, 47, 4, 1982, p. 741-760.

[88] М. Ристић, *Једна воља. Студије о италијанском национализму*, Београд, 1936.

[89] M. Alberti, *L' Irredentismo senza romanticism*, Trieste, 1936, p. 25.

European society in the mid-19th century: socialism, Christianity, civil rights, the history of British democracy, wars, international law and international order, the Council of the Saint Alliance, Eastern question, Ottoman Empire, revolutionary fermentation in South America, civil war in the United States, etc. Hence, it can be concluded that faith in the unification of Italy was integrated into the wider dimension of European and world politics, which Mazzini dealt throughout his entire life. However, one cannot ignore it as an essential element of a broad range of his thoughts on democracy, revolution, national liberation of the people. There are unambiguous and clear indications that the great Italian revolutionary imagined Italy as a spiritual (much more than necessarily political) leader of a united, liberated humanity within his imperial faith, but it remains unclear whether this idea was crucial to the formation of the ideology of the irredentist movement, since many irredentist fighters, writers and publicists were mazzinians by invitation, vocation, personal determination, or simply because of Mazzini's personality cult, carefully nurtured in the period until 1914, and not necessarily for imperialistic reasons, understood in the context of the conquest and exploitation of non-Italian territories on the Balkan Peninsula.

Mazzini's idea of the Third Rome and the entire messianic discourse did not represent the capillary, basis of the political ideology of the Apostle, but it cannot be ignored that it constitutes an indispensable element of a wide range of his thoughts on democracy, revolution and national liberation of the people. The true essence of the idea of the Third Rome did not lie in the imperialist justification of the destruction of peoples and civilizations that stand outside the politically framed space of the Italian interest sphere, and can not be compared and uncritically linked to, for example, Drang nach Östen. Nevertheless, the belief in the choice of the European continent to civilize all of mankind, liberate it from unjust social systems such as feudalism, has undoubtedly contributed to the awakening of imperialism in the 20th century.

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